FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

JANUARY 29, 1916

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

U. S. Market

Uncle Sam—"Give your money to this gentleman; he will select for you."

Voteless Wage-Earner and Taxpayer—"I want to select for myself, thank you!"

Vol. IV JANUARY 29, 1916 No. 5

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

1420 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

Art Editor . . . . MRS. NINA E. ALLENDER

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Notes of the Week

The "People's" Views

WE learn from the New York *Times* that a newly-elected Democratic Congressman, Hon. Murray Hulbert, from the Twenty-first district of New York, has taken a novel census of the "people's" views on questions that will be determined by the national legislature.

Mr. Hulbert has announced that he will vote as the "indicated sentiment in his district directs."

One of the questions sent out by Mr. Hulbert bore on woman suffrage. The census resulted in a vote of 1,500 for woman suffrage and 2,000 against it.

It is needless to say that the "people" consulted by Mr. Hulbert were exclusively men. There are over 30,000 voters in his district. Three thousand five hundred replied. Over 26,500 were silent.

"If you want an out-and-out, unequivocal reply as to what I shall do," said Mr. Hulbert, "I repeat that I shall vote and act as the majority of my district indicate by their census blank answers. I try in every way to make my view impersonal. I'm the agent of my constituents. A mere majority will suffice to guide me and to determine me in my course."

A more complete negation of the existence of women could hardly be imagined.

Yet this is a rather unusually good illustration of the spirit of "democracy" in America in all but twelve of our states.

Women may expect to persuade Mr. Hulbert that a "mere majority" of men ought not to have power to decide the affairs of women.

Filipino Independence in Two to Four Years?

GRANTING of independence to the Philippine Islands in not less than two years and not more than four years may be favored by the Wilson administration. Senator Hitchcock, chairman of the Senate Philippine committee, discussed with the President last Tuesday a provision to that effect, which Senator Clarke, of Arkansas, has introduced as an amendment to the pending Philippine bill.

After conferring with the President, Senator Hitchcock, while he would not say what the President had told him, indicated it was probable the amendment would have the administration's support. He said he would have to talk with other Senators before deciding definitely whether the change would be accepted.

Previously the President opposed another amendment offered by Senator Clarke proposing independence for the Philippines within two years.

The Income Tax Decision

THE Supreme Court of the United States, in its unanimous decision handed down January 24, rules that the income tax law is constitutional and sets aside all objections to it that have been made.

The constitution of the law was attacked in five cases, which consisted mainly in points of conflicting laws. In none of the cases is the point raised that a large number of the income taxpayers—the women of the United States—had no voice in the passage of the law. The decision leaves the government in a position to levy a still heavier tax on these women.

Women Demand Federal Inspection of Creameries

A CAMPAIGN for pure butter and for the federal inspection of creameries was organized January 21 in Philadelphia at a conference attended by delegates from leading women's clubs and colleges and the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

The following resolution was passed at the conference:

"*Resolved,* That Congress should enact a law providing for federal inspection of all creameries in which butter is manufactured for interstate commerce, and the operation of same under a special license, giving adequate protection against disease, improper sanitary conditions and false labeling; also that a butter fat standard be adopted, and that all butter that is artificially colored shall so state, naming the colorant used."

And still some people say that the right of women to vote is not a national issue!

Election in Which Women Vote Is Declared Legal

VALIDITY of the Municipal Court election, at which women cast their ballots in Des Moines, Iowa, has been upheld by the Supreme Court by a vote of 4 to 3, and the street car franchise election, carried at the same time, has been made legal. Opponents of the court held that the women were not entitled to vote and also claimed errors in registration.

Elihu Root on "Individual Liberty"

AT a dinner given in his honor recently by the New York State Bar Association, ex-Senator Elihu Root said:

"We must be prepared to defend our individual liberty in two ways. We must be prepared to do it first by force of arms against all external aggressions; second, we must be prepared to defend our country against all indifference and false doctrine, against all willingness to submit individual independence to the control of practical tyranny, whether it be of a monarch or of a majority."

And yet it is this same gentleman who advocates "willingness" of women "to submit individual independence to the control of practical tyranny, whether it be of a monarch or of a majority!"

Chivalry and Man-Made Laws

UNWRITTEN rules of chivalry do not jibe with the written law of Pennsylvania, Walter L. Hill, attorney, argued in court today when he presented reasons for a non-suit in the damage case of John Panneck, against the Scranton Railway Company. Panneck gave his seat in a crowded car to a woman in May, 1914, and stepping to the platform, was thrown off and injured when the car struck a curve.

Quoting decisions of the higher courts in support of his contention, the lawyer declared that if a man moved by chivalrous impulse, gives his seat to a woman and is later injured, his chivalry constitutes contributory negligence and bars recovery.

"Unfortunately," he added, "the laws of nice deportment sometimes are incompatible with the statutes." Court reserved its decision.

78,004 Men Convicted; 4,536 Women

ACCORDING to an article in the Philadelphia *North American* of January 25, there were 82,540 convictions for crime in New York state during the year 1915.

Of the whole number of convictions, which showed an increase of 1,842 over the preceding year, 78,004 were of men and 4,536 of women.

Laws for Women and Children Urged in South Carolina

IN his message to the general assembly Governor Manning urged legislation in behalf of workers, especially women in large industries, and also women employed in other lines of work. He said:

"Women are sometimes cruelly oppressed, and have to work for a greater number of hours than flesh and blood can stand. Sometimes they are required to work as many as sixteen hours or more, without opportunity for rest and with scant time for meals, and with their work places at times in an unsanitary condition."

Governor Manning recommended a law raising the age limit of children working in factories, mines and textile establishments. He said that a large number of school districts have placed themselves under the compulsory school attendance law, but this was not true in mill districts, because the age limit of the child labor law is twelve years and the school maximum is fourteen years.

Women to Replace Men in Munitions Factories

FOLLOWING Premier Asquith's announcement in the House of Commons January 21 of a most imperative need for more munitions workers, and the necessity for introduction of woman labor in industrial plants, the government has appointed a board of commissioners to visit the Clyde and Tyne districts to apply the policy immediately.

To increase the number of persons engaged in making shells, the government proposes to replace skilled workers engaged in minor tasks by men and women classed as "semi-unskilled," transferring the skilled men to more important work. This measure, the prime minister announced, will be introduced following an agreement with the labor party members.

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SUITS COATS BLOUSES NOVELTIES MILLINERY GOWNS WRAPS FURS

Texas Members Organize Branch of Congressional Union

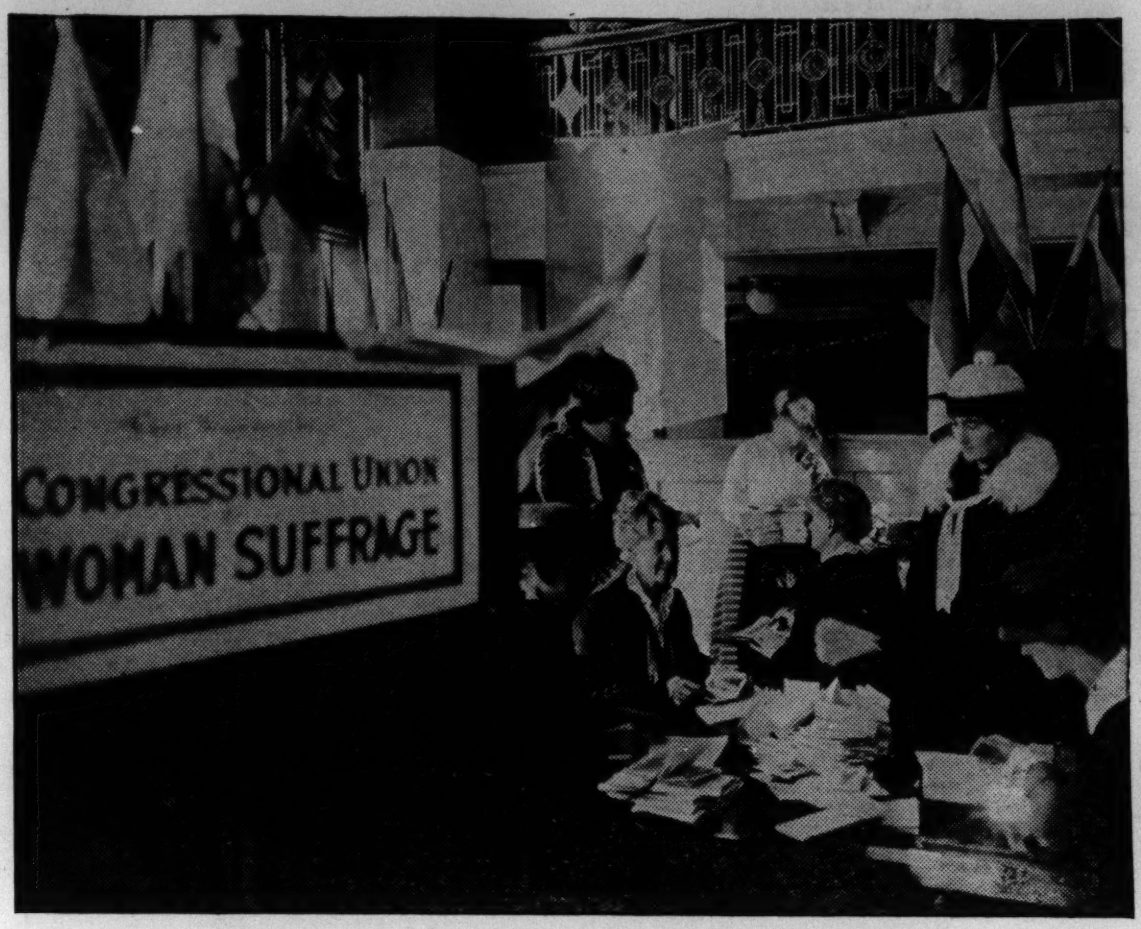
"THE Texas Branch of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage was organized with a brilliant send-off Thursday afternoon at one o'clock by a large gathering of prominent women of Houston and Texas," writes the Houston *Daily Post* of January 21.

After a luncheon at the Bender Hotel, the following officers were elected: Chairman, Mrs. Clara Wolfe, Austin, wife of the professor of economics at the university; first vice-chairman, Mrs. Elizabeth Herndon Potter, Tyler; second vice-chairman, Miss Florence Sterling, Houston; third vice-chairman, Mrs. Florence Hogue, Houston; fourth vice-chairman, Mrs. Benigna Kalb, Houston; fifth vice-chairman, Mrs. Texas Armstrong, Dallas; sixth vice-chairman, Mrs. J. O. Ross, Houston; secretary, Mrs. Rena Maverick Green, San Antonio; treasurer, Mrs. J. M. Young, San Antonio.

Mrs. Harris Masterson, Houston, became a member of the Congressional Union's Advisory Council.

The nominating committee was composed of Miss Florence Sterling, of Houston; Mrs. Sterling Myer, of Houston; Mrs. J. O. Ross, of Houston; Mrs. Pearl Lovelace, of Waco; Mrs. D. E. Greer, of Beaumont.

"The rise of the Congressional Union was impressively related by Miss Paul in an address after the luncheon at the Bender Hotel," says the Houston *Daily Post,* "where a most representative gathering of women and men was assembled. At the close of the speaking a draft of the constitution for the new Texas branch of the Congressional Union was made by Miss Florence Sterling, and the constitution was adopted by a membership of more than one hundred."



A Corner of the Texas Headquarters, Houston

MISS M. C. STERNE writes, in part, from Houston: "Suffragists in Texas believe they have solved the vote problem, after their brief but unhappy experience in Texas in recent years, through the federal amendment. Some weeks ago, Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson came to Texas to form a branch of the Congressional Union. That she succeeded splendidly is attested by the large and representative gathering of Texas' leading women, with a goodly attendance of men well-wishers, at the Bender Hotel in Houston.

"Miss Paul, chairman of the national executive committee of the Congressional Union, found the way well prepared for her by Mrs. Thompson when, after a luncheon served in the hotel ball room at the Bender, she told the story of the Congressional Union and its work with the National Congress.

"Texas women were ready for this movement. They had waged a remarkable campaign for action upon suffrage by their own legislature last winter, and that experience converted them to the federal method of work. In the Congressional Union's historical amendment they saw the quicker and shorter route to enfranchisement.

"The new state committee is composed of well-known women experienced in club work. Mrs. Wolfe, the new chairman, is a resident of Austin, where her husband is professor of economics at the state university. After her graduation at Oberlin she did organization work in the Ohio and Wisconsin suffrage campaigns. She has already arranged to go through the state, holding meetings in the congressional districts and organizing congressional district committees.

"Mrs. James M. Young, of San Antonio, the treasurer, is president of the Equal Franchise League of her city. Mrs. Elizabeth Herndon Potter, of Tyler, first vice-chairman, is legislative chairman for the Woman Suffrage Association of Texas. Miss Florence Sterling, second vice-chairman, is president of the Women's Political Union of Houston, and one of the most prominent business women in that city. Mrs. Armstrong, fifth vice-chairman, is president of the Dallas Equal Suffrage Association. Mrs. Benigna Kalb, fourth vice-chairman, is governor and founder of the Texas Farm Women, an organization for farm women corresponding to the federated clubs of Texas among town women. The other members, Mrs. Florence Hogue, of Houston; Mrs. J. O. Ross, of Houston, and Mrs. Haverick Green, San Antonio, are all prominent in their communities.

"The luncheon which preceded the organization meeting was presided over with grace and dignity by Mrs. Potter, a most enthusiastic supporter of federal work as a result of her experience as head of the political work for the state suffrage association. 'Only our own inactivity,' she said, 'will prevent the passage of the national amendment by this Congress. As southern women let us see to it that the South takes up the amendment at Washington as strongly as do the other parts of the country.'

"Mayor Ben Campbell, of Houston, opened the luncheon by extending the welcome of Houston to the members of the conference. Amid great applause he testified to his own belief in suffrage, and to his approval of the federal method of work as the most economical, and the most likely to produce **results.**

"Mrs. J. B. Campbell, of Galveston, president of the Texas Woman Suffrage Association, then extended greetings from that association; and similar greetings were brought from the leaders of the various suffrage leagues through the state.

"Among those who spoke were Mrs. H. B. Moore, president of the Texas City organization; Miss Pearl Lovelace, acting secretary of the Waco Suffrage League; Mrs. Clara Wolfe, who said that the three unsuccessful state suffrage campaigns in which she had engaged had left her with no doubts as to the wisdom of the congressional line of attack; Mrs. James M. Young, who pointed out the inefficiency of 'southern chivalry' as a means of protecting southern women in the industrial world; and Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, of Washington, D. C.

"Miss Alice Paul made the principal speech, and then proposed that Texas women organize a branch of the Union in their state. This suggestion was greeted with enthusiastic applause; and Miss Florence Sterling, the local president, who had worked indefatigably to make the meeting a success, presented a constitution for adoption by the Texas members as a basis for organization. The constitution was unanimously accepted. Five hundred dollars was then pledged by members and friends present for the work in response to an appeal from Miss Paul, the Houston Suffrage League leading off with a pledge of two hundred dollars.

"At the Congressional Union headquarters in the lobby, and at the Bender Hotel, the colors and banners of the Union have attracted attention from passers-by for the past month. There Mrs. Thompson and the women of Houston who volunteered their services in arranging the meeting have been at all times busy discharging their many duties. * * * The headquarters have proved one of the most impressive and successful features of the work in Texas.

"The call to the conference was sent out by Mrs. Hettie D. M. Wallis, Texas member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, and former president of the Women's Political Union of Houston."

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Lady
Marble

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B Anthony in 1875.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House,

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate,

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204 failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Amendment in the Sixty-Fourth Congress

Introduced

In the Senate, on December 7, by Senators Sutherland and Thomas.
In the House, on December 6, by Representatives Mondell, Raker, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

In the Senate, on January 8, the Sutherland Amendment, known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1; by a favorable vote.

Present Status

In the Senate, on the calendar, awaiting action.
In the House, before the Judiciary Committee.

Politicians' Scruples

ONE of the most uplifting influences in modern politics is the high plane of the argument directed against woman suffrage.

In the old days the devotion of the average Congressman to womanhood was his chief reason for opposing woman suffrage. Today it is his passion for democracy.

The people must be consulted, directly and individually, man by man, and state by state. "This is a difficult program," protests the suffragist. "No cause was ever won without travail and sacrifice," says the idealistic politician. "I am with you!" . . .

Or, if the federal constitution must be amended to forbid the disfranchisement of woman, it cannot be amended in the faulty and erring manner prescribed by the law as it stands. Is it fair that the ratification of a little state like Nevada should have equal weight with the ratification of the great commonwealth of New York?

"But," says the "insidious lobbyist," "Nevada and New York have equal power in the Senate, and it does not worry you. You are a Senator, and you keep right on voting."

"Because an evil exists, that is no reason why it should be extended," says the moralist-in-office. . . .

"I am a firm believer in majority rule," said another champion of democracy at the Capitol. "If your amendment were submitted to the states, ratified by thirty-six of the smaller states and rejected by the twelve largest, it might be passed by fact against a pure ideal? . . .

"Was not the President elected by a minority of the people?" says simple woman. But what is fact against a pure ideal? . . .

For representatives from states in which a suffrage referendum was recently defeated, "obeying the will of my constituents" has become the first of the twelve cardinal virtues. "I believe in suffrage; I have voted for it. But my people have spoken." . . . "As a citizen," said a Representative from New York recently—("He was quite eloquent," reports the comparatively faulty being who interviewed him")—"I would support the enfranchisement of women; as a Representative, it is my duty to oppose it."

Crushed by these moral altitudes, it is difficult for the practical advocate of justice to women to remember that "the will of my constituents" is at times overlooked under our present system, which, with all its faults, is eagerly accepted by those who hold office under it. Congressmen do not even take their seats as soon as they are elected. They wait, sometimes for over a year, while the old Congressmen, sitting in spite of an adverse vote of their constituents, keep right on legislating exactly as they please.

Only for woman suffrage these infelicities of the law-making process positively must not exist. Woman must not only work for freedom in a flawless manner; she must not only demonstrate, before being accorded the vote, that she will never do anything wrong with it; she must also—and this is the point we have reached today—be enfranchised according to a perfectly correct system; and if the present legal method of accomplishing that object is not perfectly correct, she must wait till these faults are remedied before a just and upright Congress will feel morally at liberty to establish the reform which, as individuals and as citizens, they believe in so deeply.

It must pain our pious politicians to observe that women do not take the interest they used to take in these abstract discussions. They are not concerned about politicians' reasons for inaction. All women care about is the vote of Congressmen, individually and by parties. Whether honest or dishonest, the opponents of a just reform should be removed from office.

This view of the situation saves women much valuable time, and has the further advantage of bringing them in contact with the realities instead of the "make-believes" of political life.

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Mrs. S. B. M. Young, Mont.
Miss Maud Younger, Cal.

Anniversary Meeting of Congressional Union

Mrs. Amos Pinchot

Who will speak at the meeting on January 30

THE third anniversary meeting of the Congressional Union, in the new headquarters at Cameron House on Sunday afternoon, January 30, promises to be a splendidly successful one.

At the beginning of the year, so full of hope for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment through Congress, a large public is coming to this meeting, eager to learn of the practical plan of work for the amendment throughout the country.

Mrs. Amos Pinchot and Miss Frances Jolliffe have been added to the list of speakers, which will include Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Miss Elsie Hill, and Miss Anne Martin, chairman of the legislative committee. Mrs. William Kent will preside.

An informal reception preceding the meeting will begin at three o'clock. In the receiving line will be Mrs. Joseph McKenna, Mrs. Albert B. Cummins, Mrs. Henry F. Ashurst, Mrs. Robert M. LaFollette, Mrs. Frank W. Mondell, Mrs. Julius Kahn, Mrs. Luther Wright Mott, Mrs. Ernest W. Roberts, Mrs. William Kent, Mrs. Nina E. Allender, Mrs. John Jay White, Mrs. Benton MacKaye, Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood, Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, Mrs. George Rublee, Miss Maud Younger and Mrs. George Thatcher Guernsey.

Decoration of the Cameron House for the day of its official opening is in the hands of Mrs. Nina E. Allender and Mrs. Caro G. Moore.

Refreshments, given by Mrs. William Kent, will be served by Miss Edith Goode. Assisting Miss Goode will be Miss Catherine Pace, Miss Mary Howry, Miss Candace Howard, Miss Anne Hopkins, Miss Helen Burch, Miss Peggy Sefton, Miss Margaret Howard, Miss Ruth Hapgood, Miss Joy Young, Miss Edith Murray, Miss Grace Needham, Miss Louise Stevenson, Miss Mary LaFollette, Miss Norma Johnson, Miss Ruth Valk, Miss Marie Barrett, and Miss Dorothy Owens.

Members of the committee on arrangements for the meeting are Mrs. Robert Baker, Mrs. George Odell, Mrs. Nevil Monroe Hopkins, Mrs. W. Thompson Burch, and Mrs. Randolph Keith Forrest.

New York Women Seek Interview with President Wilson

WITH the purpose of securing an appointment with President Wilson for a delegation of New York women, who wished to lay before the President their claim to political freedom, Mrs. William Kent and Miss Maud Younger, of California, waited upon Mr. Wilson at the White House on Wednesday morning, January 26.

Mrs. Kent, in presenting the request of the New York women for an interview with President Wilson, said that she hoped the President would understand the spirit in which the request was made.

"Women are anxious to express to you, Mr. President," she said, "the depth and earnestness of the demand throughout the country for favorable action on the question of woman suffrage. We are Western women, and as citizens are accustomed to having a request for political consideration received with seriousness; and we feel keenly the injustice of the popular assumption that such delegations are planned to annoy a public official. We hope that you will appreciate the dignity and the propriety of such a representative appeal as the women of New York are now making."

President Wilson said that such an assumption was entirely absent from his mind. He added that he had decided to make it a rule during this trip to New York and through the middle West not to receive any delegations whatever, since he would "get in wrong," as he said, if he received one and not another; it was very possible, however, that he might be approached by deputations which he would be able to receive.

New York women will endeavor to see the President while he is in their city, hoping they may secure the opportunity to express to the Chief Executive the demand of an unenfranchised class for equal political rights.

The Federal Amendment in Arkansas

DURING the past week the keenest interest has been shown by Arkansas suffragists in the passage of the federal amendment in the present session of Congress. Resolutions have been passed by meetings of all kinds calling upon the Congressmen from this state to vote for the amendment.

A great deal of amusement and some indignation has been caused by Representative Caraway's statement that there were only a handful of women in his state who wanted to vote, "a few women in Little Rock who desired to get into the limelight." It shows, the women say, that their representative knows little about them. Certainly he has never asked any number of them about their feelings on the suffrage question.

These meetings have been held in preparation for the convention of the Congressional Union on Tuesday, January 25. A meeting will be held in the parlors of the Hotel Marion at 2:30 p. m., at which Miss Alice Paul will be the speaker. At this meeting a committee will be formed to conduct Congressional Union work in Arkansas. Miss Gertrude Watkins, first vice-president of the Political Equality League of Little Rock; Miss Josephine Miller and Miss Ealine Heath assisted in sending out the call to the convention.

During the week, Miss Mabel Vernon spoke on federal work before the city federation of clubs in Little Rock, an organization representing thousands of club women in the city, and also before a union meeting of W. C. T. U. members.

On Friday the people of Hot Springs were aroused to think of woman suffrage and the federal way of gaining it by meetings indoors and out. These meetings were arranged by Mrs. H. C. Draughon and Miss Adele Johnson, president and secretary of the Hot Springs Suffrage League. The open air meeting was the first one that had been held in Hot Springs and it aroused a great amount of interest and enthusiasm. The sentiment of the people was indicated by a unanimous vote in favor of the resolution calling upon Mr. Taylor, representative from the district, to vote "Yes" on the suffrage amendment. In the meetings held in Arkansas there has not been a hint of objection to the federal amendment on the ground of states' rights. It is more and more evident, as the true feeling of the people is disclosed, that the states' rights argument is only a convenient excuse for politicians to hide behind.

On Saturday a very beautiful reception and tea was given at the home of Mrs. L. B. Leigh in Little Rock. This was the regular meeting day of the Political Equality League and after the program was finished, Miss Vernon was asked to tell the members of the league of the trip across the country to bear resolutions from the Women Voters' Convention to President Wilson.

The first street meeting held in Little Rock was a great success. On Saturday night the streets were crowded, and in a minute or so after the appearance of the automobile decorated with Congressional Union flags, an audience of hundreds of people had gathered. Miss Josephine Miller presided at the meeting and introduced Miss Vernon. Miss Miller has recently returned from France, where she was associated with Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney in work at the American Ambulance and later at Mrs. Whitney's own hospital. Miss Miller is in a position from personal experience to handle the argument that women should not vote because they cannot fight. Needless to say, no one presented this argument in Miss Miller's presence at the meeting in Little Rock. The enthusiasm of the meeting was indicated by the size of the collection, which amounted to $10.84, and by the vote on a resolution calling upon Representative Jackoway to support the federal suffrage amendment. Mrs. Thomas Taylor Cotnam, president of the Political Equality League, spoke at the meeting and was enthusiastically greeted by her townspeople. Mrs. Cotnam is an experienced open-air speaker, having spent four months speaking many times a day in the New York campaign. Mrs. Cotnam urged the men who had expressed themselves for suffrage to write to Representative Jackoway that he might know the sentiment of his constituents. Mrs. Cotnam herself officiated in "passing the hat," assisted by Mrs. Olive Hoskins and Mrs. Clarence E. Rose. There was such eagerness to obtain THE SUFFRAGIST that the supply was exhausted before the demand, and while two anxious men matched nickels for the last copy, it was sold to a third customer.

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Woman Suffrage and Congress

By Annie G. Porritt

A NEW epoch in the woman suffrage movement opened when the suffragists of the eastern states turned to the woman voters of the West and asked their help in obtaining the passage of an amendment to the United States Constitution. When the leaders of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage planned the appeal, they proposed to use the argument that the women of no state can be fairly represented in the national government so long as any women remain unenfranchised, and that for their own sake the women who already have the vote should put national woman suffrage first, as the only method of obtaining full recognition by Congress of women's needs and women's interests. But when the great convention of women voters was assembled at San Francisco, last September, it was quickly discovered that an appeal to self-interest was weak and ineffective, as compared with an appeal to the conscience, the nobility, the generosity of the women. The movement has already assumed such proportions that it was described by one of the most prominent lawyers of the Pacific Coast, in an attempt to explain the position to President Wilson, as one that must be taken into account by Congress and the Administration. "The women voters of the West," he wrote, "are standing together on this question of women's enfranchisement through constitutional amendment with almost fanatical solidarity."

The immediate result of this injection of some four millions of possible votes into the suffrage agitation was clearly to be seen in Washington during the two weeks of suffrage conventions and suffrage activity from December 6 to December 20. The first annual convention of the Congressional Union opened on December 6. In itself the convention differed little from many another suffrage convention that has been held during the sixty-seven years that have passed since the women first met and organized the women's rights movement. The chief difference between the Congressional Union convention of December, 1915, and all previous conventions was the conviction that possessed the women and pervaded all the proceedings that the movement had reached the threshold of victory—that it was only a matter of months before success should be attained. Self-sacrifice was there, but that has characterized many a gathering of suffragists; and even the large amount subscribed for the work of the Congressional Union—over $45,000—has been surpassed more than once in the woman suffrage movement.

What was new concerning the convention of the Congressional Union was the fluttering of the dovecotes of the politicians caused by it. Both the Democratic and the Republican National Committees held meetings during the two weeks of December 6 to 20; and, for the first time, suffragists appeared before the committees and urged the two great national parties to further the immediate passage of the Woman Suffrage Amendment. Representatives of the National Woman Suffrage Association and of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage were heard by these committees, as well as the envoys who were sent to Washington by the Women Voters' Convention of September 14-16, 1915. But no one who attended these hearings could have failed to be impressed by the keen interest shown by the politicians in the policy to be adopted by the women voters. Miss Frances Jolliffe, of California, and Mrs. Sara Bard Field, of Oregon, were the two envoys. Mrs. Field traveled all the way across the continent by automobile to bring the message of the women voters and the enormous petition gathered at San Francisco to Washington. Both these women had not only been voters, but had been actively identified with one or another of the political parties. Their assertion that hundreds of thousands of women were pledging themselves that "henceforth they would know no party until women are enfranchised" was something much stronger than any academic argument.

The contention so constantly put forward by all suffragists that indirect influence is a poor substitute for the vote received another confirmation from the President himself. President Wilson had already taken the step of voting for woman suffrage in New Jersey, but until he met the envoys of the women voters he had always insisted that the question was one for the states and not for the national government. After listening to Miss Jolliffe and Mrs. Field, he took another long step forward. "I can only say to you," he said, "that nothing could be more impressive than the presentation of such a request in such numbers and backed by such influences as undoubtedly are behind you." He promised to confer in the most serious way with his colleagues at the other end of the city "with regard to what is the right thing to do at this time concerning this great matter," and he finished by saying that the visit of the envoys with their message "will make it necessary for all of us to consider very carefully what is right for us to do."

It is no new thing for the Senate suffrage committee to grant hearings to suffragists, and not much can be deduced from the fact that representatives both of the National Woman Suffrage Association and of the Congressional Union appeared before the committee on December 15 and 16. But it is surely worthy of note that the Judiciary Committee of the House not only granted a hearing to both associations, but that the members of the committee spent so much time in questioning and cross-examining the speakers who appeared for the Congressional Union and the voting women that the hearing was not concluded in the time set for it. Every effort was made by members of the committee to draw from Miss Jolliffe, Mrs. Field, Miss Helen Todd and Miss Alice Paul all possible information concerning the sources and amount of their funds, their force of workers, their expenditures, and especially their future policy under all emergencies.

A Presidential election is due in 1916. No one imagines that the four million women who are entitled to vote will all stand together or will vote as the Congressional Union directs. But if the movement of the women voters goes on as it has begun, gathering strength and momentum during all the months that intervene between now and November, 1916, the vote that will be cast for suffrage first, regardless of party ties, will be a vote that cannot be thought negligible by any political party. In view of the anxieties and uncertainties of the leaders of both great parties, the Congressional Union considers it not unreasonable to believe that the embarrassing question of woman suffrage will be removed from the field of national politics before the meeting of the National Democratic and Republican conventions next summer, and that Senators and Representatives will relieve themselves of further responsibility by passing the amendment and thus relegating the question to the state legislatures.

Reprinted from the Independent, December 27, 1915.

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Campaign Through the Country

New York

Chairman: *Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont.*
Organizer: *Miss Doris Stevens.*
Headquarters: 14 *East Forty-first Street.*

THE first of the congressional districts to organize formally in New York is the nineteenth congressional district, of which Hon. Walter M. Chandler is the representative.

At the residence of Mrs. Lucius Ryce, the first meeting was held on January 12 to plan the work of the district and explain fully to new members the policies and methods of the Congressional Union.

Mrs. Robert Adamson, wife of Fire Commissioner Adamson, presided. Mrs. Mary Beard acted as temporary secretary and made an inspiring talk on the prospects of the amendment in the present Congress. Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, who resides in the district, spoke feelingly on the undesirability of a second referendum in the state so soon after the last unsuccessful one, and urged the women to put their efforts to better uses than the interminable drudgery of trying to convert the man in the street, who is responsible to no one, and who can break pledges with no fear of consequences to himself.

A map of the district was shown to visualize the boundaries of district work. Full information was given concerning the record and present suffrage status of Representative Chandler, and of Senators James A. O'Gorman and James W. Wadsworth.

Mr. Chandler has always professed to be an ardent advocate of woman suffrage, and is so known throughout the district, where he has spoken frequently and well in its behalf, and where he has declared that he would do anything he could to advance the suffrage movement. Last year Mr. Chandler seemed to backslide in his convictions, so far as they applied to national suffrage; and suffragists in the district were amazed to hear rumors of his defection just prior to the vote in the House. A strong remonstrance, however, came from his constituency, with the result that Mr. Chandler did vote in favor of the federal amendment. This year he has announced that he will vote against it.

Mr. Chandler was elected on the Progressive ticket, and also on the Independence League ticket, both of which endorse woman suffrage. The Progressive national platform had a conspicuous suffrage plank, which has since been reiterated strongly by the Progressive national committee recently at its meeting in Chicago. Mr. Chandler was re-elected with a clear understanding of his position on suffrage. The referendum vote of his district upon suffrage, women believe, does not release Mr. Chandler from his moral and political obligations to stand by his pre-election platform. It is generally believed that Mr. Chandler will reconsider his present stand.

A number of entirely new members were added, whose interest was awakened by the Congressional Union plan of work. A good collection was taken.

On January 19 officers for the district were elected. Mrs. Lucius Ryce was made temporary chairman; Mrs. Shotwell, Mrs. James L. Johnson and Mrs. Lamar Hardy, vice-chairmen; Miss Shoket, treasurer; Mrs. Charles Smith, secretary.

Mrs. John Dewey, member of the advisory council, has offered her house for the next meeting on January 26.

For many of the new members the Union's plan of political work is a revelation of new possibilities of work in the suffrage field, and of renewed hope.

New Jersey

Chairman: *Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins.*
Organizer: *Miss Agnes F. Campbell.*
Headquarters: 17 *West Park Street, Newark.*

DURING the past week arrangements have been completed for meetings to be held in Moorestown, Atlantic City, and Morristown on the 24th, 25th and 26th, respectively.

Miss Agnes Campbell, state organizer, will speak at both Moorestown and Atlantic City.

The Moorestown meeting has been called by Miss Helen Paul, and will be a Burlington County conference. A county branch will be formed and a chairman and other officers elected. The meeting will be held at the home of Mrs. William B. Lippincott, 122 Main street.

The meeting at Atlantic City will be held at the residence of Mrs. Howard Boyle, 210 Seaside avenue, and will also be a county conference.

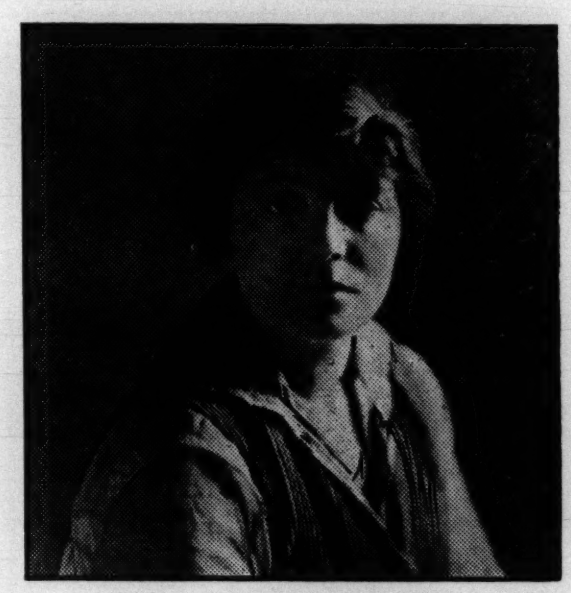
Miss B. McGibney, owner and head of Scotch Hall Sanatorium, in Ocean City, has been appointed chairman for Cape May County, and Mrs. Caroline Barnes Wilson, chairman for Cumberland County. After the chairmen for Atlantic and Burlington counties have been elected, these four will choose a temporary chairman for the entire second congressional district, and arrange for a district conference to be held later.

Mrs. Sara Bard Field will speak at the meeting in Morristown, which is to be held at Pocahontas Hall at 8:15 p. m. General invitations have been sent out, and a good crowd is expected. Refreshments will be served.

At this meeting the appointment of a chairman for Morris County will be announced.

Headquarters grows more and more popular and many men are visitors.

We have had many letters written to Congressmen Browning, Hutchinson, Capstick, Drukker and Parker, as Miss Anne Martin requested.



Mrs. Harry Lowenburg

Chairman, Pennsylvania Congressional Union.

Pennsylvania

Chairman: *Mrs. Harry Lowenburg.*
Organizer: *Miss Isabella Mott.*
Headquarters: *Hale Building, Philadelphia.*

THE Pennsylvania branch of the Congressional Union held its first round table luncheon in Philadelphia at Hotel Adelphi on Thursday, January 13. Besides the invited guests, seventy-five members were present. Mrs. Harry Lowenburg presided. Mrs. Lawrence Lewis made an earnest address on the need of organizing congressional districts throughout the state of Pennsylvania and asked for pledges to cover the expenses of this work. Close to one thousand dollars was pledged. Among those who made these pledges were Mrs. William M. Barnes, Miss Mary Burnham, Miss Annie Bunn, Miss M. A. Bunn, Mrs. Edward Biddle, Mrs. E. M. Cooper, Miss Julia Elder, Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Mrs. Sarah G. Greenough, Miss Anne Heygate Hall, Mrs. Charles Z. Klauder, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Doctor Sarah Lockrey, Mrs. Harry Lowenburg, Miss Ella Riegel, Mrs. Robinson, Mrs. George Stradling and Mrs. Frank Shuman.

Mrs. Edwin Grice, a member of the advisory council, spoke on the recent national convention of the Congressional Union in Washington. The wonderful, indomitable spirit of the Congressional Union workers, Mrs. Grice said, had inspired her to work to the best of her ability toward the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. Miss Anne Martin, of Nevada, legislative chairman of the Congressional Union, spoke on the splendid opportunity before suffragists for success in the Sixty-fourth Congress. Mrs. Sara Bard Field told of the encouragement that she had just received from many women voters in the west who have promised to help the women of the east by urging upon Congress the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

The luncheon took place in the gold room, beautifully decorated in purple, white and gold.

Miss Elizabeth Elder was in charge. At the speakers' table sat Miss Mary Burnham, Mrs. Earl Barnes, wife of Professor Earl Barnes; Mrs. C. C. Carter, Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Miss Anne Martin, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Mrs. Harry Lowenberg, Miss Mathibe Neil, Miss Mary Butler, Miss Elizabeth Lowney, Mrs. Edwin C. Grice and Mrs. Oswald Chew.

Mrs. Edwin C. Grice is the new chairman on congressional district organization in Pennsylvania. Plans are moving rapidly forward for organizing the state. In every district meetings will be held, which will be addressed by speakers from Washington, New York and Philadelphia.

Deputations to Congressmen and Senators are being arranged by Mrs. Lowenburg.

Permanent headquarters have been taken in room 209, Hale Building. Miss Harriet Dulles and Miss Marie E. Kennedy are heading the committee on headquarters, which will be ready for work within a week.

Miss Elizabeth Elder has just been appointed state chairman for THE SUFFRAGIST; Miss Cornelia Greenough will act as state chairman of the membership committee.

On January 26 an evening meeting will be held in the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel. Miss Mary Burnham will preside; Miss Lucy Burns and Miss Janet Richards will be the speakers.

Minnesota

Chairman: *Mrs. Alden H. Potter,* 2849 *Irving Ave., So., Minneapolis.*
Organizer: *Mrs. Gertrude Hunter.*

THE delegates returning from the convention at Washington were welcomed home by a luncheon given in their honor in the Leamington Hotel by the Hennepin County Equal Suffrage Association. Mrs. Andreas Ueland, President of the Minnesota Woman Suffrage Association, spoke on "The Conventions"; Mrs. A. L. Searle, on "The Deputation to the White House"; Mrs. A. H. Harrison, on "The Spirit of the Convention"; Miss Katharine J. Smith, on "The Envoys"; Mrs. Gertrude Hunter, on "The Congressional Union"; and Mrs. A. H. Potter, "The Susan B. Anthony Pageant."

The Minneapolis Political Equality Club also listened to the reports of the convention at a luncheon given at the West Hotel, at which Mrs Ueland, Mrs. A. R. Colvin, Mrs. A. H. Bright, Mrs. A. H. Potter and Mrs. Gertrude Hunter told of the interesting features of the work in Washington.

Mrs. Hunter recently addressed the Men's Brotherhood of the Simpson Methodist Church, and the District Convention of the W. C. T. U., on the present phase of the suffrage movement in Congress. On January 16, she was invited to speak at a great labor mass meeting on the subject of "Women and Children in Industry, and the Ballot." Mrs. Hunter was the only woman on the program.

The State Suffrage Association plans to hold a district conference in Albert Lea on January 27 and 28 which will be attended by many Congressional Union workers. Mrs. A. H. Potter will speak on the subject of congressional work at this conference. Mrs. Hunter will appear before theatre audiences and labor organizations and will ask the people to write their Congressmen, urging them to assist the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment through Congress in this session.

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